



*The Counter-Reformation,
Diplomacy, and Art Patronage in
Portugal under Cardinal-Infant D.
Henrique of Portugal: A Legacy to
Serve Church and Kingdom*

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The Counter-Reformation, Diplomacy, and Art Patronage in Portugal under Cardinal-Infant D. Henrique of Portugal: A Legacy to Serve Church and Kingdom¹

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Abstract: Commonly known as the Cardinal-King, D. Henrique of Portugal was a Portuguese royal-blood *infant* who was destined to become a prince of the Church. He was a preeminent figure of the sixteenth century: the period of the political, economic, religious, and cultural expansion of the Portuguese Empire, and of the Counter-Reformation. During his service to the Roman Catholic Church, D. Henrique occupied the seats of the three Portuguese archdioceses, was chosen to govern some of the wealthiest religious orders, and represented the Holy Office in Portugal. He was also nominated cardinal and legate *a latere* to Portugal. The Cardinal-Infant was responsible for an unprecedented architectural innovation in Portugal and beyond, reforming, expanding, and erecting several buildings. This study focuses on the institutional projects and material reforms in Portugal initiated by Cardinal-King D. Henrique through complex diplomatic relations between the Portuguese Crown and the Holy See during the sixteenth century. Its main objective is to create a basis for further research into his architectural patronage while occupying his several positions of ecclesiastical and lay authority.

Keywords: Counter-Reformation in Portugal; Cardinal-King D. Henrique of Portugal; Ecclesiastical reforms; Religious orders colleges and diocesan seminaries material reforms; Portuguese art patronage in the sixteenth century; Mannerist architecture

In the first half of the sixteenth century, while the Iberian kingdoms consolidated their overseas territories through an imperialist policy under the Christian banner, several other European states experienced fragmentation of their religious unity, which was responsible for triggering political tensions and military conflicts that would mark the early modern. With the advent of the Protestant Reformation, and the fear of losing their religious supremacy, the Roman Catholic Church embarked on the Counter-Reformation by calling the most important council of history, the *Concilium Tridentinum*. The Council oversaw the implementation of new control mechanisms and “new barriers between the sacred and secular” that would purge the ills that afflicted the Christian faith in the sixteenth century.²

One of the prelates who responded to the Catholic reform movement with a great zeal

¹ This article had the support of CHAM (FCSH/NOVA-UAc), through the strategic project sponsored by FCT (UID/HIS/04666/2013).

² W. D. Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confessions, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2001), ix.

and enthusiastic commitment was the Cardinal-Infant D. Henrique of Portugal (b. 1512, r. 1578-1580).³ He was the eighth son of the Portuguese King D. Manuel I (b. 1469, r. 1495-1521) and the Queen D. Maria of Aragon (1482-1517). As Portuguese royalty, he was allowed entry to the highest ecclesiastical rankings in the Roman Church hierarchy.⁴



Figure 1: “HENRICVS LVSITANIA REX XVII HVIVS COLLEGII FVNDATOR”—Cardinal-King D. Henrique of Portugal presented as the founder of the Jesuit College-University of Évora

Photo: Susana Rodrigues – Universidade de Évora (2012)

(Probably the building represented in the plans, arranged over the table, and in the picture behind his chair).
Oil on canvas, Seventeenth century (1629?), Manuel Henriques, S. J. (attrib.), Hall of Academic Acts of the University of Évora

³ The original Portuguese name of all persons mentioned in this article has been retained, as has the use of the term infant—“Infante”—to designate all of the king’s non-firstborn sons, according the tradition of the Iberian Kingdoms.

⁴ A. Macedo, *Lusitania infulata et purpurata, seu pontificibus et cardinalibus illustrata* (Paris, 1663), 258; A. Baião, “A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil. Subsídios para a sua história. Livro I”, *Arquivo Histórico Português*, vol. 5, nos. 10-11 (1907), 425.

As the son of the king he would have had the education of a Renaissance prince, based on both humanist principles and the Catholic faith. According to early modern chroniclers, besides preparation in biblical languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), he was trained in theology, philosophy, mathematics, and the arts. Among his renowned humanist Portuguese preceptors were the jurist Gaspar Moreira, the pedagogue Aires Barbosa (c.1470-1540), the mathematician Francisco de Melo (?-1536), the mathematician and cosmographer Pedro Nunes (1502-1578), and the Flemish theologian Nicolas Cleynaerts (1494-1542). He appears to have thus acquired the basic tools of the legislative, pedagogical, and architectural programmes in all the institutions under his governance. He was surrounded not only by the most distinguished theologians, preachers, and jurists, but also by the best humanists, architects, and other artists of his time—both national and foreign.⁵

Some contemporary authors, such as the royal chronicler Damião de Góis (1502-1574), noted that D. Henrique showed special interest in, and revealed some personal acquaintance with, architecture: “he had a great understanding of building, as well of fortification”.⁶ It may be for this reason that the Jesuit priest Francisco da Fonseca (1668-1738) attributed to the Cardinal-King, “who was so expert in architecture”, the architectural plans of the Church of St Anthony and the Monastery of Valverde, both in Évora.⁷

The Infant began preparation for a high ecclesiastical career at an early age, in order to be appointed to the most important religious institutions—a strategy that was implemented by D. Manuel I, and continued by D. João III (b. 1502, r. 1521-1557), king of Portugal, and D. Henrique’s older brother. The positions occupied by D. Henrique would strengthen the authority and power of the Portuguese crown, especially after the death of another brother, Cardinal D. Afonso (1509-1540).

Despite the close relations between Portugal and the Holy See, the papal Curia had, on numerous occasions, been reluctant to accede to the entitlements and prerogatives claimed by the King D. João III for D. Henrique.⁸ D. João III had inherited the mission from his father to

⁵ D. Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisboa, 1566-1567), 3.27, fl.53v; António Caetano de Sousa, *História Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3:627; A. Macedo, *Lusitania insulata et purpurata*, 258-259; M. P. D. Pacheco, “Ao serviço da Igreja, do Rei e do Saber. O Cardeal -Infante D. Henrique e o Colégio de São Bernardo de Coimbra”, *Boletim do Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol. 27 (2014), 272; A. Polónia, *D. Henrique* (Lisboa, 2009), 57-63; A. F. Conde, “Modelos de apoio às mulheres no período moderno: a ação do Cardeal-Infante D. Henrique”, *Matria Digital*, no. 1 (2013), 25.

⁶ “no edificar tem grande juizo, & assi no fortificar”. Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, 3.27, fl.56; J. B. Bury, “The Italian contribution to sixteenth-century Portuguese architecture, military and civil”, in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford, 2000), 87. Apparently, when the Portuguese humanist André de Resende was on his deathbed, D. Henrique wrote to Simão Estaço, in Évora, and ordered him to collect all the architecture treatises that he had translated (such as the *De re aedificatoria* of Leon Battista Alberti, ordered by D. João III himself), and to send them to the Royal Palace of Almeirim. F. L. Ferreira, “Notícias da vida de André de Resende”, *Arquivo Histórico Português*, vol. 11 (1914), 116-117; M. Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, (Roma, 1728), 107.

⁷ “taõ perito na architettura, fez o desenho do Convento”. Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 218, 300, 359; Bury, “The Italian contribution to sixteenth-century Portuguese architecture”, 87.

⁸ His nomination was denied for the Bishopric of Viseu in 1522 (at the age of ten), his appointment for the Monastery of Alcobaça abbey between 1540 and 1545 was delayed, and his position as grand inquisitor at the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition from 1539 until 1547 was deferred. The tension would rise again at the moment that his nomination was demanded for apostolic legato in Portugal. Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 29, 49, 93-95; António Baião, “A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil”, 228; J. J. A. Dias, *O Cardeal D. Henrique. Obra impressa* (Lisboa,

defend and expand the Catholic faith in his domains all over the world. In 1536, D. João III created the Tribunal of the Holy Office—the Portuguese Inquisition. D. Henrique was installed as the Tribunal's second Grand Inquisitor, a position that he held until 1579. Despite resistance from both the Roman Curia and the Portuguese nuncios, over the next eight years, from 1539 to 1547, he instigated an inquisitorial network, providing buildings, incomes, and men to support the Tribunal's work.⁹

In D. Henrique's view, Portugal was responsible not only for the weakening of the Islamic influence in the Mediterranean, through the damage inflicted on spice commerce in the East, but also for the Catholic faith's expansion in the Portuguese territories in America, Africa, and Asia.¹⁰ Occupying a prime position between the political and ecclesiastical elites, D. Henrique acted diligently in the diplomatic field to the Holy See for the purpose of obtaining the necessary licenses and approvals to implement his projects. Yet, he was also committed to strengthening and maintaining the Portuguese Empire's administrative structures. The Catholic Church in Portugal had offered important institutional support in most of the projects promoted by the Portuguese crown.

From his position within the Portuguese royal court, which gravitated mainly between the cities of Lisbon and Évora, and guiding his diplomatic agents to the Holy See in Rome, the Cardinal-Infant enforced some of the most important ecclesiastical reforms in the sixteenth century. In his private house—especially during the period he spent in Évora—he gathered a prominent court of theologians, canonists, preachers, confessors, and numerous servants, who would serve him both as faithful ministers in Portugal, and as diplomats abroad.¹¹

Some of these servants would be supported and promoted by the king himself to undertake diplomatic missions to the Holy See and to defend national interests—both political and ecclesiastical.¹² The Cardinal's chief agents in Rome included Gaspar Pinto, António Pinto, Gaspar Barreiros (c.1515-1574), Baltazar de Faria, Simão da Veiga, Pedro Mascarenhas, and later João Gomes da Silva.¹³ The Spanish friar Luis de Granada (1504-1588) and the Jesuit Leão Henriques (?-1589) were both faithful counsellors, and Friar André de Resende was his preacher.¹⁴

2012), 99; J. S. M. Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 7: 202-204, 280.

⁹ In 1541, D. Henrique established six district tribunals, located in Lisbon, Évora, Coimbra, Oporto, Lamego, and Tomar. The first five courts worked closely with nearby dioceses, and the later with the Order of Christ. This network was operational for a period of about seven or eight years—from 1541 until 1547/1548—when all tribunals were suppressed, except in Lisbon and Évora. During the second phase of the Inquisition network reorganization, in the 1560s, the Infant and Grand-Inquisitor reformed the tribunals of Lisbon and Évora, reopened the Coimbra Inquisition, and established a new one in Goa, in India. Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834* (Cambridge, 2011), 44-50; P. D. Pacheco, “Que fez o Serenissimo & Reverendissimo Cardeal Iffante Dom Anrique: A acção legisladora do Arcebispo e Inquisidor-Mor no tempo de Camões”, in *Actas do Colóquio Internacional Camões e os seus Contemporâneos* (Coimbra, 2013), 449.

¹⁰ Baião, “A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil”, 228, 236.

¹¹ The *Casa Privada* should be understood as an institution with personal royal revenues and a group of domestic servants, from the cooks to the chaplains, responsible for the management and maintenance of his assets, and for daily personal service.

¹² For instance, it was the Portuguese ambassador in Rome who suggested to D. Henrique, regent of Portugal at the time, to obtain the authorization to translate the *Roman Catechism* into Portuguese. P. Rodríguez, *El Catecismo Romano ante Felipe II y la Inquisición española* (Madrid, 1998), 79-80.

¹³ S. Rego, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo* (Lisboa, 1960-1962) 3: 8-6.

¹⁴ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 18, 33-39, 58-65, 131-136; A. Polónia, “Espaços de intervenção religiosa do Cardeal

D. Henrique's royal lineage and high ecclesiastical offices gave him a unique status in the Church hierarchy. After obtaining approval from the Pope to absent himself from the Council of Trent, he communicated effectively with the most distinguished clerics who did participate, both during and afterwards. Some of them were brilliant diplomats, legislators, and religious patrons, responsible for the foundation of numerous seminaries to instruct the parochial priests, confessors, and preachers. Among his correspondents were: the Italian cardinal Giovanni Ricci (1498-1574), apostolic collector and nuncio in Portugal; (Saint) Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584), Archbishop of Milan; Michele Ghislieri (1504-1572), future Pope (Saint) Pius V; Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), the Cardinal-Protector of Portugal; and the Portuguese Friar (Blessed) Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1514-1590), Archbishop of Braga.¹⁵ The Cardinal-Infant promoted reforms of the archbishoprics, monastic houses, and the Inquisition tribunals under his direct control.

The Cardinal's royal status and, above all, the important and numerous ecclesiastical positions that he held, allowed him to earn large revenues.¹⁶ For decades, he managed a sizeable income and supported an abundant number of servants, not only in his house, but also in several institutions. Despite historians' criticisms that large incomes impoverished the dioceses and communities from where he derived them, D. Henrique seems to have invested most of the revenues for the material renewal of these respective institutions. For that reason, he promoted continuous successive artistic projects that would make him one of the most significant patrons of the Portuguese arts in the sixteenth century.

D. Henrique had an active role in shaping and planning his commission.¹⁷ Usually, all the architectural programmes that he sponsored—such as the foundation, renovation, and maintenance of several private buildings (churches, monasteries, colleges, seminaries, palaces, and tribunals) and public infrastructures (fortresses, hospitals, plazas, and water structures)—were accompanied by a set of legislative acts and diplomatic actions. Inevitably, his architectural projects transformed the urban space in which they were constructed, as a reflection of the Cardinal-King's jurisdiction and influence.

Depending on the function of the projects in question, there were often extended

Infante D. Henrique: Actuação pastoral, reforma monástica e inquisição. Em torno dos espaços religiosos monásticos e eclesiais", in *IHM-UP* (Porto, 2005), 33; J. D. *Sebastião e D. Henrique* (Lisboa, 1942), 158.

¹⁵ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 102; Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 3: 64-65, 9: 370, 503, 10: 90-91; L. Salazar y Castro, *Índice de las glorias de la Casa Farnese, o resumen de las heroicas acciones de sus príncipes, que consagra a la Augusta Reyna de las Españas, Doña Isabel Farnese* (Madrid, 1716), 248; S. Deswarte-Rosa "The Portuguese in Rome and the Palazzo dei Tribunali", in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford, 2000), 260-261; A. D. Wright, "The interaction of the Portuguese and Italian Churches in the Counter-Reformation", in *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*, ed. K. J. P. Lowe (Oxford, 2000), 61-64.

¹⁶ For instance, in 1540, Pope Paul III confirmed his pension, paid by the Archdiocese of Braga, of 3,750 *crúzados*, increased to 6,000 *crúzados* twenty years later. In this context, it is possible to compare these values with the incomes of the three Portuguese archdioceses in the first third of the seventeenth century; the Archdiocese of Évora had 55,000 *crúzados*, Braga 47,000, and Lisbon 40,000. J. P. Paiva, "D. Fr. Luís da Silva e a gestão dos bens de uma mitra. O caso da diocese de Lamego (1677-85)", in *Estudos de Homenagem a João Francisco Marques*, (Porto, 2001) 2: 251; L. C. Capelo, *Inventário do Fundo Documental da Universidade de Évora* (Évora, 2010), 47; L. Sousa and L. Cacegas, *Vida de Dom Frei Bertolameu dos Martyres da Ordem dos Pregadores, Arcebispo e Senhor de Braga, Primas das Espanhas* (Viana do Castelo, 1619), 24v.

¹⁷ S. E. Reiss, "A Taxonomy of Art Patronage in Early Modern Italy", in *Mapping Renaissance and Baroque Art: Essays on Culture and Ideas, 1300-1700*, eds. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow (New York, 2010), 26.

contracts to provide fittings for these buildings. These included altarpieces and furniture, devotional imagery and reliquaries, sacred vases and liturgical garments, libraries, archives, and sometimes printing offices as well.¹⁸ In all these undertakings, from architecture to sculpture, the cardinal commissioned the finest artists—both national and foreign—many of whom had worked for the crown itself, and the most important ecclesiastical institutions. Their ranks included architects and military engineers, such as Miguel de Arruda (?-1563), Afonso Álvares (?-1580), and the Italian Filippo Terzi (c.1520-1597); and the master-builders Rodrigo Anes, Baltazar Fernandes, and Manuel Pires. He also commissioned painters such as Gregório Lopes (c.1490-1550) and the Italian Giuseppe Valeriano (1526-1596), together with goldsmiths Francisco Rodrigues and João Rodrigues.¹⁹

The majority of these architectural commissions conformed to the austerity and simplicity of the Mannerist style, both in their elevations and interior arrangements, in accordance with the orthodox Tridentine guidelines implemented in Portugal, revealing the theatrical emphasis imposed by the Counter-Reformation. According to the regular conception of the buildings, all should be endowed with internal chapels and oratories, thus stipulating not only the subject's religious instruction, but also the spiritual and moral training required by the *Devotio Moderna* commitments.²⁰ According to Elmer Lampe, the "Council of Trent had indicated that art was to serve religion, and indeed one of the distinctive features of this cultural renewal was the emphasis upon religious purpose".²¹ Once more, art became an ideological weapon for the dissemination of the Catholic Church's principles and needs.

D. Henrique's commitment to eradicating the Protestant doctrines and eliminating heresy led him to publish four Indexes of Prohibited Books in Portugal between 1547 and 1564.²² He promoted the printing of Mass liturgy, ceremonials, catechisms, confessor's guides, theological texts, and spiritual manuals²³—all strongly recommended by the Tridentine instructions—together with Inquisition directives, diocesan and synod constitutions, college statutes, and other texts for the ecclesiastical institutions that he ran.²⁴

¹⁸ The National Museum of D. frei Manuel do Cenáculo, in Évora, and the Museum of Sacred Art of the Cathedral of Évora, are two institutions where some of the best works commissioned by the Cardinal-Archbishop are kept. In the latter, the exquisite episcopal staff, the archiepiscopal cross, and one altar cross that belong to D. Henrique, are on display.

¹⁹ The printers who worked for D. Henrique include Francisco Correia and the Spanish André de Burgos. For the works printed and promoted by the Cardinal-Archbishop, see: J. J. A. Dias, *Cardeal D. Henrique. Obra impressa*; T. Espanca, "Alguns artistas de Évora nos séculos XVI-XVII", *Cidade de Évora. Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal*, nos. 5-6 (1948), 178-179, 191-192, 195, 208, 211; T. Espanca, "Os Originais do Cartório da Câmara Municipal de Évora", *Cidade de Évora. Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal*, nos. 51-52 (1968/69), 200, 211; Serrão, "As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde: uma encomenda de D. Henrique ao pintor Gregório Lopes", in *Actas do Seminário Internacional Estudo da Pintura Portuguesa: Oficina de Gregório Lopes* (Lisboa, 1999), 50-51; G. Kubler, *Portuguese Plain Architecture: Between Spices and Diamonds, 1521-1706* (Middletown, CT, 1972), 76.

²⁰ In some ways, the internal composition of the erected buildings would follow the same guidelines expressed by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo in the *Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*, published in 1577.

²¹ E. L. Lampe, "Counter Reformation", in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, (New York, 1967), 4: 388.

²² Polónia, "Espaços de intervenção religiosa do Cardeal Infante D. Henrique", 36.

²³ Some of them were written by the Cardinal himself: *Meditações sobre a Oração do Pater Noster* (1557) and *Meditações e Homílias sobre Alguns Mistérios da Vida de Nosso Redemptor & sobre Alguns Logares do Sancto Evangelho Que Fez o Serenissimo e Reverendissimo Cardeal Infante Dom Anrique, & por Sua Particular Denação* (1574).

²⁴ For the legislative contribution of D. Henrique, namely in the Tribunal of the Inquisition, see: M. P. D. Pacheco, "Que fez o Serenissimo & Reverendissimo Cardeal Infante Dom Anrique", 387-402.

Portuguese historians in a partisan political environment in the nineteenth century were critical of the Cardinal-King's connection to the Holy Office (of which he was the inquisitor-general for forty years), and the political impasse triggered after his death (which would see the accession of the Spanish Habsburg House to the Portuguese throne), and did much to reduce his legacy.²⁵ Their contemporaries, namely the humanists that he protected, showed a different vision about him.²⁶

Notwithstanding his dedication to the Inquisition, and his support for censorship Indices, D. Henrique also sought to publish classical authors, and he financially supported many writers and humanists.²⁷ Those whom he patronised included the Flemish scholar Johannes Vasaecus (1511-1561),²⁸ and the Portuguese Damião de Góis;²⁹ D. Jerónimo Osório (1506-1580), Bishop of Silves;³⁰ André de Resende (1500-1573);³¹ João de Barros (1496-1570);³² and Francisco Sá de Miranda (1487-1558).³³ All of these authors dedicated some of their works to him in gratitude.³⁴ Notwithstanding D. Henrique's legacy to the art and cultural history of his country in the sixteenth century, sometimes it is difficult to define specifically in what capacity he patronised individual projects, and whether he acted as commendatory of the religious houses, as prelate of the three archdioceses, as regent and king of Portugal, or simply as a committed patron to honour his royal lineage and his own faith. Regularly, artistic projects were emblazoned with his royal coat of arms, surrounded by the ecclesiastical insignias (Figure 2) and textual inscriptions, attesting his personal patronage commitment and responsibility for the renewal of moral discipline and spirituality as imposed by the Tridentine reforms.

²⁵ During my research, I found only one street that evokes the memory of D. Henrique. In fact, even his name doesn't truly appear in the street sign, but the honorific titles that identify him—Cardinal King Street (*Rua do Cardeal Rei*). This is the main street of the University of Évora, located in the building that he had sponsored.

²⁶ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 9-14.

²⁷ He sponsored an edition of Aristoteles *Logic*, and tried to print in Portuguese a version of *De re aedificatoria* of Leon Baptista Alberti, which was ordered by D. João III.

²⁸ Author of the *Collectanea Rhetorices* (1538), and the *Chronicon Hispaniae* (1552).

²⁹ Author of the *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (1566), for which would be prosecuted by the Inquisition.

³⁰ Author of the *De rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae inuictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis* (1571).

³¹ Author of *Scholia* (1545), and the *Breviarium Eborense* (1548).

³² Author of the manuscript *Diálogo Evangélico contra o Talmud dos Judeus* (1543?).

³³ Author of *Os Estrangeiros* (1559). One of the most unknown aspects of his biography is the fact that D. Henrique showed a special taste for theatrical plays, namely those written by the Portuguese humanist Francisco de Saa de Miranda. A. L. Pereira, *As obras do Doutor Francisco de Saa de Miranda* (Lisboa, 1677), 6v.

³⁴ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 64-67; V. S. Pereira, "Uma carta de André de Resende reconstituída", *Humanitas*, vols. 39-40 (1988), 216-217, 220-223; A. Resende, *As Antiguidades da Lusitânia* (Lisboa, 1996) 53-54; F. L. Ferreira, "Notícias da vida de André de Resende", 177-185, 200-206; Pereira, *As obras do Doutor Francisco de Saa de Miranda*, 6v.



Figure 2: Coat of Arms of Cardinal-King D. Henrique of Portugal
Évora, sixteenth century
Photo by Milton Pacheco (2016)

Throughout other European monarchies, many ecclesiastical patrons who were deeply committed to the Counter-Reformation assumed the same position as D. Henrique. By rendering a service to the Church, they reinforced their political ambitions, strengthened their ecclesiastic positions, and supported artistic and cultural production alongside religious and intellectual reform. The old religious orders and ecclesiastical institutions were reformed and new faith societies and missionary institutes were created. In both cases, it was necessary to provide new buildings, and to reconstruct the old ones.

Among his most prominent contemporary clerics, and with those he contacted personally and through diplomatic correspondence, were the Portuguese archbishop D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, and the Italian cardinals Carlo Borromeo and Alessandro Farnese—the last two having institutional connections to some Portuguese ecclesiastical communities.³⁵ In the archiepiscopal territories of Milan, in Italy, and of Braga, in Portugal, Carlo Borromeo and D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires—two of the most assertive participants at the Council of Trent—were responsible for the erection of seminaries, colleges, and educational institutes,

³⁵ In this context, it should be noted that dos Mártires was the only Portuguese archbishop to come from a humble origin. The two Italian cardinals came from some of the noblest Italian families, with close proximity to some of the contemporary popes. M. P. D. Pacheco, “De civitate Dei: The artistic campaigns at Archdiocese of Braga as promoted by Saint Bartolomeu dos Mártires”, in *Sacred space, sacred memory: The cult of bishops in their cities (4th-20th century)*, eds. C. Bousquet-Labouërie and Y. Maurey (Turnhout, 2015), 302-305; Sousa and Cacegas, *Vida de Dom Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires da Ordem dos Pregadores*, 11, 19, 134-135v; E. Patrizi, “Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, in the midst of religious disciplining, pastoral renewal and Christian education (1564-1584)”, *History of Education & Children’s Literature*, vol. 3, no. 1 (2008), 35-36; G. P. Giussano, *Vita di S. Carlo Borromeo. Prete Cardinale del Titolo di Santa Prassede, Arcivescovo di Milano* (Naples, 1855), 1: 67-69; Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 112.

not only for the clergy, but also for the laity.³⁶ Their actions extended also over the renovation of monasteries, churches and chapels, religious confraternities and charitable brotherhoods, and for the financial support of several religious orders, especially the recently created Society of Jesus.³⁷ Notwithstanding, Alessandro Farnese was a humanist and art patron, dedicated to palace reforms, gathering famous libraries, and astonishing art collections. He also promoted the renovation of several religious buildings, particularly in Rome.³⁸

Although D. Henrique's entire patronage focused on the Catholic reformist current, his unique social origin, combined with the many ecclesiastical positions he held, have made him a singular humanist and a dedicated patron of the arts. In fact, he had a unique position among all the other ecclesiastical individuals, because of his direct royal lineage.

D. Henrique as the Administrator, Commendatory, and Perpetual Abbot of the Portuguese Religious Orders

D. Henrique was connected with some of the most important and ancient monastic houses in Portugal since his childhood. His connections, however, often emulated the connections of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese: the Portuguese Cardinal-Archbishop held several benefices *in commendam*, retaining for himself a portion of the revenues of those houses without fulfilling the duties of abbot, but still proceeding as one.³⁹ At the age of eleven, in 1523, D. Henrique received his first ecclesiastical benefice: he was nominated as the prosecutor of the Augustinian

³⁶ The Portuguese Archbishop arrived at Trent on 17 May 1561, and would become known for uttering the following statement during the council: "The most reverend and eminent cardinals need a most reverend and eminent reform". Pacheco, "De civitate Dei", 303; Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 88.

³⁷ Carlo Borromeo wrote the most relevant manual for religious architecture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*. He was responsible for the renovation of several of churches in his archbishopric, namely in the cathedral of Milan and the churches of *San Raffaele*, *San Sebastiano*, *dell'Addolorata a Rho*, Blessed Virgin *dei Miracoli* of Corbetta, *San Fedele*, in Milan, the Church of *Purificazione di Maria Vergine*, in Traffume, and the monasteries of St Agatha, Barbara and St Clare, also in Milan. Still in the examples of religious sanctuaries, from basilicas to chapels, the Milanese prelate promoted also the erection of the *Sacro Monte di Arona*, *Brisago*, *Crea*, *Galliate*, *Graglia*, *Griffa*, *Orta*, *Orselina*, *Ossuccio*, and *Varese*. Patrizi, "Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan", 40, 42-46, 56-57; P. M. Jones, "San Carlo Borromeo and Plague Imagery in Milan and Rome", in *Hope and Healing: Painting in a Time of Plague, 1500-1800*, eds. Gauvin Bailey, Pamela Jones, Franco Mormando, and Thomas Worcester (Chicago, 2005), 65-67, 74.

³⁸ Alessandro Farnese, "il gran cardinale", was responsible for the construction of the Jesuit Church of the *Gesù*, in Rome, and the Jesuit College of *Monreale*, in Sicily. He also sponsored some material reforms at the Cathedral of Monreale, in Sicily, at the basilicas of St Peter and Santa Maria Maggiore, both in Rome, at the monasteries of *Tre Fontane* in Rome, and St Benedict of Monte Cassino, and offered a new set of paintings to his cardinalate church of St Lawrence in Damaso, also in Rome. Despite all these commitments, Alessandro Farnese would be known for his decisive contribution in the conclusion and ornamentation of Palace Farnese, in Rome, and of Palace of Caprarola, in Viterbi, both started by his ancestor Pope Paul III. Reiss, "A taxonomy of Art Patronage in Renaissance Italy", 37; C. Cresti and C. Rendina, *Villas y Palacios de Roma* (Barcelona, 2005), 110-125; O. Raggio, "The Farnese Table: A Rediscovered Work by Vignola", *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 18, no. 7 (1960), 250, 252.

³⁹ Cardinal Alessandro Farnese was elected apostolic administrator of the Diocese of Viseu, and commendatory of the Monastery of Santo Tirso of Riba Ave. Salazar y Castro, *Indice de las glorias de la Casa Farnese*, 240; B. V. Sousa, I. C. Pina, M. F. Andrade, and M. L. Santos, eds. "Mosteiro de Santo Tirso de Riba Ave", in *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das Origens a Trento – Guia Histórico* (Lisbon, 2005), 52-53.

Monastery of St George (*Mosteiro de São Jorge de Milréus*)⁴⁰ in Coimbra—a position that he held until, at least, 1567.⁴¹ Three years later, in 1526, he was nominated perpetual commendatory of the Monastery of the Holy Cross (*Mosteiro de Santa Cruz*), and then, in 1534, the priory of the Monastery of Divine Saviour (*Mosteiro do Divino Salvador*), in Moreira, Maia, from the Regular Canons of St Augustine. In Évora, he supported the Augustinian community with the foundation of the Monastery of Our Lady of Grace (*Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora da Graça*) in 1561.⁴²

In 1541, the community of St George had only four canons when D. Henrique decided to reform it. In 1543, he transferred the properties to his private house chancellor. Later, in 1564, the monastery and a major part of its possessions were integrated into the Monastery of the Holy Cross, as confirmed in the papal brief of Pius IV in 1563. A renewal plan was designed immediately, but not with the total incomes. In 1566, Pope Pius V issued the bull *Ex Solita*, which authorized the transference of the prior incomes to a Jesuit College—not to the one in Coimbra, as it had been planned before, but to the one in Évora.⁴³

The first institutional contact with the Order of St Bernard of Clairvaux started in 1523, when D. Henrique received the position of administrator of the Monastery of St Christopher (*Mosteiro de São Cristóvão*), in Lafões; and, in 1524, the abbey of the Monastery of St Peter of Eagles (*Mosteiro de São Pedro das Águias*), in Tabuaço, Viseu. After being appointed as administrator, before 1531, he was nominated perpetual commendatory of the Monastery of Holy Mary (*Mosteiro de Santa Maria*), in Alcobaça, from 1545 to 1580.⁴⁴

Committed to the revitalization of the Order, D. Henrique created the Portuguese Cistercian Congregation, settled in Alcobaça, after the papal bull approving it was issued in October 1567. Following this, he managed the re-establishment of the monasteries of St Paul of Frades, Salzedas, Seiça, and Tarouca, where he established a college for the community, but not without channelling part of their profits to the college that the Order had in Coimbra. It would be difficult, however, to re-activate the three monasteries dedicated to Holy Mary, in Tamarães, Ourém, in Serra da Estrela, Covilhã, and in Ermelo, Arcos de Valdevez, since their extinction benefited the Cistercian College in Coimbra.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ecclesiastical institutions and buildings have been translated into English, with their original Portuguese names included after.

⁴¹ Some authors defend that he had renounced in 1547, see: Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 94.

⁴² In the Monastery of the Holy Cross, a huge architectonic reform was promoted between 1524 and 1547, with the erection of new buildings and the reconstruction of the older ones in the monastic complex. Strangely, during this period I did not find any reference to the personal intervention of D. Henrique, despite his role as administrator. Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 94; Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 11: 339-341, 376-381; Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra”, 191.

⁴³ ANTT, Mosteiro de São Vicente de Fora, Maço 72, ns.º37-38, Maço 11, n.º27; Sousa, Pina, Andrade & Santos, “Mosteiro de São Jorge”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 185.

⁴⁴ ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, “Confirmation to the Abbey of the Monastery of Saint Peter of Eagles”, 1524, October 31, Part.I, Mç.1, n.º82, fls.1-2; “Nomination decree of D. Henrique to the Convent of Saint George”, 1523, May 20, Part.I, Mç.1, n.º82, fl.1; Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Alcobaça”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 103.

⁴⁵ Góis, *Chronica do Felicíssimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, 3.27, fl.56v; Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Ordem de Cister”/ “Mosteiro de São João Baptista de Tarouca”/ “Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Tamarães”/ “Mosteiro de Santa Maria da Serra da Estrela”/ “Mosteiro de São Paulo de Frades”/ “Mosteiro de Santa Maria do Ermelo”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 93, 101, 113-116.

Following the final resettlement of the Portuguese University from Lisbon to Coimbra in 1537, the Crown started gathering the support of the highest ecclesiastical figures and religious orders with the purpose of strengthening the college's network to support the academic institution. They would bring not only the necessary institutional and financial support, but also their intellectual gifts and pedagogical skills. Among the first was the College of the Holy Spirit (*Colégio do Espírito Santo*), established independently by D. Henrique, but immediately transferred to the Order of St Bernard (Figure 3). He founded the college, to receive twenty students, with his own money, in order to secure a privileged position near the Cistercian motherhouse, in Alcobaça. Although the process had started four years before—in 1541—the foundation stone was laid in 1545, the same year that D. Henrique became perpetual administrator of Alcobaça abbey.⁴⁶

The mother-house of the Cistercian Order, in Alcobaça, was also renovated. The main chapel of the monastery had its altar piece refurbished, and a monumental abbatial palace was erected with a private chapel—the so-called *outside church*—in a section of the complex, from where he relocated in 1578, when he thought of moving away from the Court to live his last days in peace. Near Alcobaça, the Monastery of Holy Mary (*Mosteiro de Santa Maria*) of Cós, a female community of the Order of St Bernard, was also refurbished in the manner of one established in Aguiar, in Castelo Rodrigo village.⁴⁷



Figure 3: College of the Holy Spirit (or St Bernard)
Coimbra, sixteenth century
Photo by Milton Pacheco (2012)

⁴⁶ Pacheco, “Ao serviço da Igreja, do Rei e do Saber”, 263, 268-271, 277-278.

⁴⁷ Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, 3.27, fl.56v.

Alongside the several material reforms in Cistercian monasteries, churches, and rural properties, it is possible to analyse the Monastery of St Benedict (*Mosteiro de São Bento*) of Cástris,⁴⁸ the Monastery of St Monique (*Mosteiro de Santa Mónica*), both located in Évora; the Monastery of Holy Mary (*Mosteiro de Santa Maria*), of Almoester, in Santarém; and the farm house and parish church of Pederneira, Nazaré, near Alcobaça.⁴⁹ The Cardinal-Infant was responsible not only for the reform of the Congregation of St Benedict's, but he was also nominated commendatory abbot of the Monastery of the Saviour (*Mosteiro do Salvador*), in Travanca, Paço de Sousa, and of the Monastery of St Michael (*Mosteiro de São Miguel*) in Bustelo—both in Penafiel—during two periods, from 1534 to 1538, and later, between 1560 and 1580.⁵⁰ There is no information about any institutional or material reform in this monastery, but we know that D. Henrique obtained a papal brief from Gregory XIII in 1578, authorizing the transfer of part of the incomes from the abbey's administration to the Jesuits, and the monastery's possession for the Benedictines monks. The same would happen in the Monastery of St Peter (*Mosteiro de São Pedro*) in Pedroso, Vila Nova de Gaia, when D. Henrique transferred part of the incomes to the Jesuit College of Coimbra.⁵¹ The prelate was one of the great protectors of the Society of Jesus in Portugal, supporting several houses, not only through direct monetary donations, but also by raising other financial sources.⁵² However, part of the monetary support was also removed from the revenues of several religious houses, which caused the economic ruin of some of them.⁵³

Constructed and equipped with income to support its scholars and lecturers, the College of the Holy Spirit (*Colégio do Espírito Santo*) in Évora started its activities in 1554, after its establishment in 1551. D. Henrique was present at the opening ceremony. The educational curriculum included classical languages, oratory, and conscience cases. The college was intended to educate thirty-five Jesuits. With the success of their missionary work, and the leading educational methods of the Jesuit programs, the Cardinal-Prince promptly decided to obtain from Rome the authorizations to elevate it to a university.⁵⁴ His diplomatic moves overcame the objections raised by the University of Coimbra, and with Queen D. Catarina of Austria's (1507-1578) support, he obtained a papal bull, executed on 20 September 1558. On 15 April 1559, the college became the second Portuguese university, and remained so for the next two hundred years. The project for the new complex—university, novitiate, residences,

⁴⁸ Despite being prelate of Évora, this reform was only possible because of his prerogatives as perpetual abbot.

⁴⁹ Góis, *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, 3.27, fl.56v; Serrão, “As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde”, 51; Conde, “Modelos de apoio às mulheres no período moderno: a acção do Cardeal-Infante D. Henrique”, 15.

⁴⁹ Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Mosteiro do Salvador de Paço de Sousa”/ “Mosteiro de São Pedro de Pedroso”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 51, 59.

⁵⁰ Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 11: 339-340, 423-424; Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Mosteiro do Salvador de Paço de Sousa”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 51.

⁵¹ Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 11: 424; Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Mosteiro de São Pedro de Pedroso”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 59.

⁵² Through privileged contacts with the Jesuit founder group, such as Ignacio de Loyola, Francisco Xavier, and Simão Rodrigues, he supported the major colleges of the Society of Jesus in Portugal.

⁵³ Castro, *D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, 114-115.

⁵⁴ T. Espanca, “Antigo Colégio e Universidade do Espírito Santo”, *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, (Lisboa, 1966), 1: 70-72.

academic chapel,⁵⁵ and other buildings—began in 1558, and it was more ambitious and greater than the first planned construction (Figure 4).⁵⁶ The Cardinal-Infant used one of the buildings as a residence from 1559 to 1564. The inauguration took place on 1 November 1559.⁵⁷ Three years later, the Jesuit University received the same institutional privileges granted by the Crown to the University of Coimbra.⁵⁸ However, construction work would continue into the following decades.⁵⁹



Figure 4: University of Évora (former College and University of the Society of Jesus)
Sixteenth century, with eighteenth-century reconstruction
Photo by Milton Pacheco (2017)

In Braga, at the chapel of the Jesuit College of St Paul (*Colégio de São Paulo*)—where D. Henrique had intended to establish a university—his coat of arms can be found at the top of the main arch. Its existence, next to the arms of the archbishop friar D. Bartolomeu dos

⁵⁵ Initially, D. Henrique planned to be buried at the Holy Spirit chapel (*Igreja do Espírito Santo*). However, with his accession as King of Portugal, he would eventually be buried in the royal family pantheon in the Monastery of Belém. Serrão, “As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde”, 51; Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 654-655, 659-660.

⁵⁶ Although the construction only started in 1584, the Cardinal-King had planned the Royal Hospital of Mercy (*Hospital Real da Piedade*) years before. Meanwhile, he also obtained in 1561 authorization to establish a private butchery and market for the students, similar to the University of Coimbra. Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 230.

⁵⁷ Later, during works that occurred between 1717 and 1725, it was put at the noble façade an encomiastic text in the centre of his coat of arms: “HENRICVS I LV SITANLAE REX / S.R.E. CARDINALIS / PATRIAE PATER / RELIGIONI, ET BONVS ARTIBVS”. Throughout the university complex, it is possible to find several artistic elements that evoke the memory of the main sponsor, D. Henrique. A. F. Conde, J. Soares, and P. S. Rodrigues, “Os Colégios da Universidade de Évora: recriação, evocação e capricho”, in *Universidade de Évora (1559-2009)* (Lisbon, 2012), 448-451.

⁵⁸ D. Henrique’s personal library was offered to the Jesuit College/University. Espanca, “Os Originais do Cartório da Câmara Municipal de Évora”, 216.

⁵⁹ Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 367-369.

Mártires, who started construction between 1561 and 1563, indicates the cardinal's support for the enterprise.⁶⁰

Over a long period, the Cardinal-Infant supported the Jesuit College of St Roch (*Colégio de São Roque*) and the College of St Anthony (*Colégio de Santo Antão*), which opened in 1579—both in Lisbon. He also contributed to the construction of the College of St Lawrence (*Colégio de São Lourenço*) in Oporto, and the College of Jesus (*Colégio de Jesus*) in Coimbra,⁶¹ and most probably many other Jesuit colleges established in Portugal.⁶² He was also committed to the foundation of the College of St Jerome (*Colégio de São Jerónimo*) of the Hieronymite Order, making available, in 1565, the property for its construction near of the major building of the University of Coimbra.⁶³ At the mother-house in Lisbon, the Monastery of Holy Mary (*Mosteiro de Santa Maria*) in Belém, after the expansion program of the monastic church chancel in 1565 by Queen D. Catarina, D. Henrique promoted an important set of material renovations, namely the central fountain at the major cloister⁶⁴ in 1567-1570, and his tomb, erected in the church in 1578-1580.⁶⁵

After D. Henrique obtained the property to the Hermits Congregation of Serra de Ossa, the Convent of St Paul (*Convento de São Paulo*) was established in 1578.⁶⁶ He played an important role in the reform of the male Franciscan community in Portugal. After the division of the fifty-six Franciscan convents into Regulars and Conventuals by Pope Leo X in 1517, the Cardinal-Infant recommended that they be merged again, which happened in 1568, at the direction of Pius V.⁶⁷

As a committed patron, he promoted the projects to erect two Capuchin Franciscan communities: the Monastery of Jesus (*Mosteiro do Bom Jesus*) in Valverde, in 1544—supposedly planned by D. Henrique himself—and the Convent of St Anthony of the Piety (*Convento de Santo António da Piedade*) in Sintra, at the Capuchin Convent of the Holy Cross (*Convento de Santa Cruz*) of Penha Longa, where he lived temporarily, D. Henrique patronised several renovations between 1576 and 1579, namely in the refectory and the garden areas.⁶⁸

⁶⁰ Pacheco, “De civitate Dei”, 305-306.

⁶¹ Conde, Soares, and Rodrigues, “Os Colégios da Universidade de Évora”, 462; A. C. Costa, *Corografia portuguesa, e descripçam topografica do famoso Reyno de Portugal, com noticias das fundações das Cidades, Villas, & Lugares, que contem; Varões illustres, Genealogias das Familias nobres, fundações de Conventos, Catalogos dos Bispos, antiguidades, maravilhas da natureza, edificios, & outras curiosas observaçoens* (Lisboa, 1706), 1: 352.

⁶² In Braganza, for instance. A. P. Castro, *Retórica e Teorização Literária em Portugal. Do Humanismo ao Neoclassicismo* (Lisboa, 2008), 45.

⁶³ Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Colégio de São Jerónimo de Coimbra”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 163.

⁶⁴ In 1577, this cloister was known as the Cardinal-Infant cloister. B. Villalba y Estaña, *El Peregrino Curioso y Grandezas de España*, (Madrid, 1889), 2: 93.

⁶⁵ Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Belém, *Memorial of the Monks of the Mosteiro de São Jerónimo*, 46; Serrão, “As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde”, 51.

⁶⁶ Túlio Espanca, “Colégio de São Paulo”, *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 236-237.

⁶⁷ Sousa, Pina, Andrade, and Santos, “Ordem dos Frades Menores”, *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal*, 258.

⁶⁸ Espanca, “Os Originais do Cartório da Câmara Municipal de Évora”, 197, 268; Espanca, “Convento e forte de Santo António da Piedade/ Convento de Bom Jesus de Valverde”, *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 313-314, 348-350; Serrão, “As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde”, 47-49, 51.

The Prelate of the Portuguese Archdioceses

D. Henrique occupied consecutively the three Portuguese archdioceses: Braga, between 1533 and 1540; Évora, first from 1540 to 1564, and then from 1575 to 1578; and Lisbon between 1564 and 1575. During his long archiepiscopal governance, he began an interesting set of reforms that sometimes preceded the Tridentine directives: updating diocesan constitutions, publishing new missals, calling synods, and performing pastoral visits.⁶⁹

D. Henrique became administrator of the archdiocese of Braga in 1533, being consecrated as archbishop in 1537, and automatically Primate of Hispania.⁷⁰ In the so-called 'Portuguese Rome', from 1537 until 1540, he dedicated himself to the renovation and intellectual formation of the diocesan clergy and young laity, erecting a building for public studies, which was made over to the Jesuits after 1560.⁷¹ According to the chronicler Damião de Góis, D. Henrique intervened at the church of the Monastery of São Frutuoso (*São Frutuoso*), in Braga.⁷²

From Braga, D. Henrique was nominated to take the position as first metropolitan archbishop at the See of Évora, where he assumed his longest archiepiscopal governance of his life, almost twenty-eight years, first in 1540-1564, and then 1575-1578. Here, he ruled not only as a respectable prelate, but also a devout patron. Old churches were renovated and new colleges were erected. In both cases, the urban perimeter was profoundly transformed. In addition, several commissions were undertaken in the medieval cathedral from 1540s to 1560s, including the installation of an organ, a chapter library, and the choir stalls. D. Henrique also ordered the construction of the archbishop's countryside residence, in Valverde (*Paço da Mitra da Quinta de Valverde*), near Évora, subsequently improved by his successors.⁷³

He was responsible for the construction of the Church of St Anthony (*Igreja de Santo Antão*), setting the foundation stone in 1557. In 1570, he commissioned an enormous fountain in front of the main façade (Figure 5). The Chapel of St Blasius (*Ermida de São Brás*) was renovated in 1573, also under his guidance.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Polónia, "Espaços de intervenção religiosa do Cardeal Infante D. Henrique", 17-18, 21.

⁷⁰ When he was ten, his father, King D. Manuel I, had requested the bishopric of Viseu for him, but Pope Adrian VI had refused, as would Clement VII do again in 1524. Rego, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 3: 2638, 13: 8-6, 156.

⁷¹ Anibal Pinto de Castro has considered D. Henrique to be one of the main promoters of the study of Humanities in Portugal. Castro, *Retórica e Teorização Literária em Portugal*, 21.

⁷² Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 120.

⁷³ For the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, at the cathedral, he sponsored paintings exalting the Holy Cross. Espanca, "Catedral de Santa Maria", *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 34-35; Serrão, "As tábuas do Santuário do Bom Jesus de Valverde", 47-49; M. L. Grilo, "O Concelho de Évora nas Memórias Paroquiais", *Cidade de Évora. Boletim de Cultura da Câmara Municipal*, no. 1 (1994/1995), 114-115.

⁷⁴ Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 107; Espanca, "Igreja Paroquial de Santo Antão/Ermida de São Brás", *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 207-209, 320-321.



Figure 5: Church of Saint Anthony and D. Henrique water fountain
Évora, sixteenth century
Photo by Milton Pacheco (2016)

D. Henrique's major initiative in the archbishopric of Évora was establishing institutions for the education and training of the clergy.⁷⁵ In these new establishments, theology, canon law, arts, languages, and sacred music flourished, according to the requirements imposed by the Tridentine reforms.⁷⁶ In 1555, the College of the Chaplains of the Holy Cross (*Colégio do Capelães de Santa Cruz*) was founded for the diocesan clergy education after the decision to transform the College of Jesus into a university. Later, in 1562, the College of Portionists of St Manços (*Colégio dos Porcionistas de São Manços*), erected close to the church of St Peter, was established for the education of another fifteen orphans, sons of D. Henrique's personal house servants, and boys from the Archbishop's choir.⁷⁷

The College of Our Lady of Purification (*Colégio de Nossa Senhora da Purificação*) was constructed following approval in a papal bull of 1576. It was later transformed into the

⁷⁵ Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 421-424.

⁷⁶ The musicians and singers of the Cathedral of Évora would become famous, and were compared to those of the Cathedral of Toledo, in Spain. Wright, "The interaction of the Portuguese and Italian Churches in the Counter-Reformation", 69.

⁷⁷ After the college closing, due to the lack of financial support from the Cardinal grants, the judge Hector Pina Olival and his wife, in June 1583, founded the College of the Mother of God (*Colégio da Madre de Deus*). Espanca, "Colégio da Madre de Deus", *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 91; Capelo, *Inventário do Fundo Documental da Universidade de Évora*, 31-33.

Diocesan Seminary and Theologian Institute of Évora Archbishopric, near the Jesuit University (Figure 6). The opening ceremony occurred in June 1577, when the Cardinal-Infant set the first stone for the new building. The main gate is still decorated with his coat of arms, commemorating his role in founding the institution (Figure 2). It was intended for the education of fifty clergymen—three foreigners, and the rest Portuguese—as D. Henrique had requested of Gregory XIII. The same pope decided two years later, in July 1579, to transfer the college to the Jesuit University's governance. The institute opened in 1593, thirteen years after the cardinal's death, and soon became one of the three academic colleges, as had happened in Coimbra with the colleges' network (albeit on a much smaller scale).⁷⁸



Figure 6: College of Our Lady of Purification (Diocesan Seminary and Theologian Institute of Évora Archbishopric)

Évora, sixteenth century

Photo by Milton Pacheco (2016)

Meanwhile, in 1578, the College for the Young Boys of the See's Choir (*Colégio dos Moços do Coro da Sé*) was established in a new building for another fourteen boys.⁷⁹ D. Henrique was profoundly committed to the city of Évora, even after leaving its episcopal governance. Alongside the new ecclesiastical buildings and institutions, he promoted many other urban

⁷⁸ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 72-73; Espanca, *Cadernos de História e Arte Eborense*, 34-37.

⁷⁹ Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 201-205; Espanca, "Colégio dos Moços do Coro", *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 70-71; Conde, "O Colégio dos Meninos do Coro da Sé de Évora e a ação de D. Frei Luís da Silva Teles", 470. The college was established where today can be found the Évora Public Library (*Biblioteca Pública de Évora*), which contains a rich archive dedicated to D. Henrique.

schemes to improve his archiepiscopal city and the life of its citizens.⁸⁰ He ordered major improvements to the main city aqueduct and several fountains,⁸¹ and also commissioned the construction of milestones and carved stone crosses of marble at the major entrances to Évora city.⁸²

Outside of the urban perimeter, but within Évora archdiocese limits, he was responsible for the spatial renovation and material construction of several parish churches. Among the most representative examples of sacred buildings erected under his direct influence are the Church of the Holy Mary (*Igreja de Santa Maria*), and the Church of the Saviour (*Igreja do Salvador*) in Veiros: both in Estremoz, and both begun in 1559.

Motivated by religious zeal, D. Henrique abandoned the archbishopric of Évora in 1564, and went Lisbon to enforce the Tridentine directives. Under his guidance, Portugal was one of the first European kingdoms to adopt them. The episcopate's obligation to respect the Tridentine guidelines—that bishops should reside and rule physically in their dioceses—determined D. Henrique's nomination for the archdiocese of Lisbon, the city in which he resided from 1562, during his the regency for the young King D. Sebastião (b. 1554, r. 1568-1578). He ruled the archdiocese of Lisbon for eleven years, from 1564 to 1575. During this period, he erected the Seminary of St Catherine (*Seminário de Santa Catarina*) in 1566, and established St Anthony parish (*Paróquia de Santo Antão*).⁸³

The Cardinal of the Four Crowned Martyrs and legate *a latere*

D. Henrique was appointed cardinal of the titular church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem in the consistory of 1545. He received the scarlet biretta in Lisbon on October 1546, from the hands of Stephano del Buffalo, the pope's private chamberlain. One year later, he became cardinal of the titular church of the Four Crowned Saints, *Santi Quattro Coronati*.⁸⁴

Since the deaths of the popes Paul III, Marcellus II, and Julius III, the Portuguese crown had worked to obtain the support of the Spanish and French monarchies for the election of the Cardinal-Infant D. Henrique to St Peter's throne.⁸⁵ As Pietro Manzi has noted,

⁸⁰ In terms of public assistance, in addition to the hundreds of alms, donations for the indigents, and funds to rescue Christians captives by Muslims, the endowment of new installations for the local religious community of the Third Order of St Francis (*Recollimento do Salvador*), the establishment of an organization aimed to help the poorest farmers, the Mount of Piety (*Monte da Piedade*) in 1576, and a large sum of money to support not only the charitable house (the Portuguese *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*) in Évora, but also many others was implemented around the archbishopric. Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 235; Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 657-658; Polónia, *D. Henrique*, 119; Soares and Rodrigues Conde, "Os Colégios da Universidade de Évora", 454.

⁸¹ Túlio Espanca said that the Archbishop-Infant flooded the city with magnificent buildings, namely several water fountains. It is possible point out the interventions in public spaces in 1556, 1571, and 1573, and in private monastic houses in 1560. Espanca, "Aqueduto da Água da Prata/ Fonte das Portas da Moura/ Fonte da Porta de Avis", *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*, 1: 4, 107, 278; Espanca, "Os Originais do Cartório da Câmara Municipal de Évora", 207, 231.

⁸² F. Hollanda, *Da fabrica que fallece á cidade de Lisboa. Da sciencia do desenbo* (Porto, 1879), 17-18.

⁸³ M. Moura, *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique e Vida de Miguel de Moura* (Lisboa, 1840), 157; Castro, *D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, 93.

⁸⁴ Rego, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 1: 433, 2: 5-35, 669, 6: 91; Baião, "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil", 222; Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 36n82; Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 119.

⁸⁵ Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 6: 345-346; Baião, "A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil", 227-228.

the Cardinal-Infant had strong support in the College during his first candidacy, and his well-known qualities and virtue were such that it was surprising he was not elected to succeed Paul III, receiving on nineteen votes.⁸⁶ Later, at the conclave of 1559, he gained only fifteen votes.⁸⁷

Alongside his archiepiscopal and cardinalate status, D. Henrique was also made legate *à latere* twice—from 1553 to 1559, and from 1562 to 1578—despite never having gone to Rome.⁸⁸ His dual royal status and ecclesiastical positions ensured that was always excused from participating in papal conclaves, from church councils, and from the regular *ad limina* visits to Rome. After his nomination for both Holy See positions, as cardinal and legate, D. Henrique used all his influence to reinforce the political position of Portugal on the European diplomatic scenario, and of course, to get approval for all his ecclesiastical and inquisitorial reforms.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, D. Henrique could not entirely escape his institutional obligations in Rome any more than could his older brother, the Cardinal-Infant D. Afonso, years before.⁹⁰ According to Sheryl E. Reiss, “As princes of the Church, cardinals played critical roles in the patronage of art and architecture in Rome and its environs. Each member of the Sacred College was assigned a titular church for which he was responsible; countless inscriptions and *stemmi* proclaim their patronage at these churches and others”.⁹¹ In the capital of Christendom, Cardinal D. Henrique was responsible for the renovation of the Basilica of the Four Crowned Martyrs, also known as the Four Crowned Ones, an ancient Christian temple, where four Roman soldiers and martyrs had been buried. Severely damaged since the sack of Rome by the troops of the Emperor Charles V—brother-in-law of D. Henrique—in 1527, the basilica from the fourth/fifth century was renewed by the Cardinal-Infant after Pius IV informed him, by the letters of 27 June and 8 August 1561, and 10 November 1563, of his obligation as *cardinalatus titulus*. The renovations were mainly to the carved wooden ceiling over the nave and the transept (Figure 7).⁹²

⁸⁶ “Egli era di tal tali pregi e virtù che poco mancò non fosse eletto a successore di Paolo III”. P. Manzi, *Il Convento Fortificato dei SS. Quattro Coronati nella Storia e nell’Arte* (Roma, 1968), 125n169.

⁸⁷ Apparently, the Queen-Regent D. Catarina sent clear instructions to the Portuguese ambassador in Rome warning that she needed D. Henrique to assist in the kingdom’s government, thus preventing himself from possible election. Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 75-77; Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 119.

⁸⁸ Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 71.

⁸⁹ Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 2: 190-191, 223-225.

⁹⁰ D. Afonso has been instructed to sponsor the construction works in his cardinalate residence and church: the Palace *dei Tribunali* and the church of *San Biagio* at *via Giulia*. This enterprise failed for two reasons: the declining of the Portuguese economy, and the king’s opposition to the cardinal settlement in Rome. Deswarte-Rosa, “The Portuguese in Rome and the Palazzo dei Tribunali”, 254-255, 258-260.

⁹¹ Reiss, “A Taxonomy of Art Patronage in Renaissance Italy”, 37.

⁹² Supposedly, the work took place before the installation of the Augustinians nuns’ orphanage in March 1564, the *Arciconfraternita di S. Maria della Visitazione degli orfani*. Manzi, *Il Convento Fortificato dei SS. Quattro Coronati nella Storia e nell’Arte*, 9-15, 125, 133.



Figure 7: Basilica of the *Santi Quattro Coronati*, Rome
Fourth/Fifth century, with sixteenth-century reformation

Photo by D. Carlos Azevedo (2017)

D. Henrique assumed an important role in the kingdom's governance during the reign of D. João III, and especially during the infancy of his great-nephew, King D. Sebastião.⁹³ After his nomination to royal almoner and member of the Council of State, D. Henrique was called to oversee the government as regent from December 1562 to January 1568, replacing his sister-in-law, the Dowager Queen D. Catarina. He assumed the regency once again between August and November 1574, but refused it in June 1578.⁹⁴

Later, on the morning of 28 August, at the church of All Saints Hospital (*Hospital de Todos-os-Santos*), the same church where he had been consecrated archbishop forty years before, D. Henrique, dressed with his cardinal garments—scarlet clothes and golden insignias that symbolised his ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction—was acclaimed as the seventieth King of Portugal.⁹⁵ The last monarch of the House of Avis, he received what he called a ‘crown of thorns’,⁹⁶ aware as he was that due to his advanced age and his ecclesiastical status, he had no prospect of providing an heir to the throne.⁹⁷ Nevertheless, for the first and only time in history, a cardinal had become a king.

According to the Theatine cleric and historian António Caetano de Sousa (1674-1759), the Cardinal-King “in the affairs of the Kingdom, in which he had so much dedication, never diminished the care of his Church, and being Prince, he never ceased to be a priest, saying Mass every day”.⁹⁸ Alongside his royal obligations, D. Henrique continued to promote material reforms to serve the Church⁹⁹ and the kingdom.¹⁰⁰

Conclusion

The major architectural projects undertaken by the Cardinal-King D. Henrique can be linked to his motto—displayed around his emblem, a dolphin wrapped in an anchor—*Festina lente*:

⁹³ In 1550, D. Henrique was nominated by the King to supervise two of the most important justice tribunals. Leal, *Corpo Diplomático Português*, 6: 367-370; 7: 29-30.

⁹⁴ Rego, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 5: 3611 [F. G. Loureiro], *Jornada del-rei Dom Sebastião. Crónica de Dom Henrique*, (Lisboa, 1978), 1: 65; Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 1: 21-29, 35-38, 96, 191, 203, 217, 324-325, 335, 374; 2: 125-126.

⁹⁵ Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 629-630. The Jesuits priests Fialho and Fonseca called him the *Portuguese Melchizedek*, the Old Testament priest and king of Salem. Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 116; Moura, *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique*, 21-25.

⁹⁶ Moura, *Chronica do Cardeal Rei D. Henrique e Vida de Miguel de Moura*, 126.

⁹⁷ Castro, *D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, 247-248.

⁹⁸ Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 627.

⁹⁹ In 1579, he ordered the construction of the Church of St Sebastian (*Igreja de São Sebastião*) in Lisbon, and the Catechumens House (*Casa dos Catecúmenos*), a doctrinal institute inaugurated in 1584, and entrusted to the Jesuit priests. José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, “Diásporas para o Reino e Império. Judeus conversos e sua mobilidade: aproximações a um tema”, 372-374, 379n70; Rego, *As gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, 2: 2079, 11: 8-25, 732.

¹⁰⁰ He was also committed to the strengthening and reorganising the military defences of both the kingdom and of the overseas territories of the Portuguese Empire. In Portugal, this program included the fortresses of *São João*, in the Tagus river (mainly sponsored by the taxes of the commercial trade of Lisbon), in Cascais, Caparica, Setúbal, Atouguia, in Peniche, several regions of Algarve and the archipelagos of Açores and Madeira, in the Atlantic. Outside of Portugal, the chroniclers pointed to the fortresses of Mazagão, Ceuta, and Tangier, in North Africa. Góis, *Chronica do Felicíssimo Rei Dom Emanuel*, 3.27, fl.57; Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 656; Fialho, *Evora Gloriosa*, 112; Cruz, *As Regências na menoridade de D. Sebastião*, 1: 282-283, 2: 226.

make haste slowly.¹⁰¹ Throughout his life, he sought to exercise the authority of his many offices and positions in a most committed and careful manner. All his efforts were directed towards assisting the Portuguese kingdom, and to serving the Catholic Church, even if sometimes the means did not justify the ends.

Acting as a dedicated prelate, a severe inquisitor-general, and a concerned ruler, the Cardinal-King—in different moments, and with different purposes—sponsored and supported a large number of new buildings, including churches, monasteries, seminaries, colleges, palaces, and tribunals. From Braga to Évora, via Lisbon and Rome, he was dedicated to the renewal of religious institutions, revealing his concerns about the clergy education, laity devotion, and the eradication of heresy.

The successive positions assumed by D. Henrique in the main ecclesiastical institutions allowed him to gather large incomes, but his appointment to the College of Cardinals, as well as to the papal legate in Portugal, allowed him to obtain several concessions from the Holy See. Despite the continuous and proven efforts, it was his royal ancestry that would take him to occupy all positions, both in Portugal and in Rome.

The motivation behind the numerous activities of D. Henrique of Portugal are sometimes difficult to categorise, as to whether they were prompted primarily by his social status and political/religious authority, or from his own cultural strategy. What is certain is that his major institutional initiatives and material reforms were based on the confluence of substantial revenues, made available from his many ecclesiastical positions, which he used to bring to completion his many architectural projects. The Portuguese Cardinal-King was responsible for the architectural transformation of the cities where he assumed the government of distinctive institutions. In various cities—especially Évora—he renewed old buildings, and constructed new ones: a process that might be called the sacralization of the urban space.¹⁰²

The mission of the Cardinal-Infant was certainly achieved, as more than four centuries later we use part of the legacy that he promoted during the Counter-Reformation period. To this day, some of D. Henrique's foundations still serve the education of the clergy, the university continues to promote academic knowledge, and the churches still house their congregations –albeit in a much more ecumenical spirit and culture of tolerance that was not possible in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰¹ This oxymoron is attributed to the Roman Emperor Augustus. Sousa, *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa*, 3: 665.

¹⁰² Patrizi, “Carlo Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan”, 55.

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